NOTUS IN IUDEA DEUS: ROBERT GROSSETESTE'S CONFESSIONAL FORMULA IN LAMBETH PALACE MS 499

by Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello

Robert Grosseteste's career as scholar and bishop of Lincoln (1235–1253) has been the object of careful scrutiny throughout this century.[1] His penitential and confessional writings, however, have been largely ignored, despite the acknowledgment that his work as pastor and confessor is an important part of his achievement. Until 1970, none of the Latin penitential writings ascribed to him had been published. In that year Siegfried Wenzel's fine edition of the treatise *Deus est* appeared, opening the door to further studies of other unedited works by Grosseteste concerned with penance and pastoral theology.[2] The subsequent edition of such works as the *Templum Dei*, the *De modo confitendi et paenitentias iniungendi*, and the *Perambulauit Iudas*, has begun to make available to scholars the wide range of penitential writings associated with this famous bishop.[3]

All of these works testify to the breadth and continuity of Grosseteste's pastoral concerns. The treatise *Deus est*, composed late in his career, is a polished and thoughtful summation of his ideas concerning the role of the confessor. The *Templum Dei*, a handbook of considerable popularity, as attested by the remarkably large number of extant manuscripts, is similar to the *Deus est*, but was written perhaps two decades earlier.[4] It provides in largely schematic form a digest of the learning necessary for a competent confessor. The *De modo confitendi et paenitentias iniungendi* is a compendium of several early works, incorporating a treatise on confession, a brief interrogatory concerning sins emanating from each of the seven principal vices, a more

[1]See D. A. Callus, ed., *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop* (Oxford 1955; repr. 1969); S. Gieben, "Bibliographia universa Roberti Grosseteste ab an. 1473 ad an. 1969," *Collectanea franciscana* 39 (1969) 362–418; J. McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford 1982), esp. app. A, "A Catalogue of Manuscript-Discoveries, Editions, and Translations of Robert Grosseteste's Works for the Years 1940–1980"; S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235–1253* (Cambridge 1940; repr. New York 1971). The most recent study is R. W. Southern's *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford 1986).

[2]Siegfried Wenzel, "Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, *Deus est*," *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970) 218–293.

[3]Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, ed. Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello (Toronto 1984), from MS 27 of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; *De modo confitendi et paenitentias iniungendi*, ed. Goering and Mantello in "The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste," forthcoming in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* (1987); *Perambulauit Iudas*, ed. Goering and Mantello in "The 'Perambulauit Iudas . . .' (*Speculum confessionis*) Attributed to Robert Grosseteste," *Revue bénédictine* 96 (1986) 125–168.

[4]See Grosseteste, *Templum Dei* (n. 3 above) 4–6; McEvoy (n. 1 above) 492–493 (app. A, no. 80).

extensive interrogatory concerning sins in thought, word, and deed which arise from the seven vices,[5] and a treatise on the proper method of enjoining penances that includes a list of penitential canons (tariffs) for specific sins. The *Perambulauit Iudas*, also a compound work, was written at the request of an unidentified abbot or prior, and includes a personal *forma confessionis* for the learned superior as well as a *speculum confessionis*—a mirror in which the simpler brothers can consider all the sins they may have committed both in the world and in the cloister.

The brief confessional formulary, *Notus in Iudea Deus*, edited here for the first time, illustrates yet another dimension of Grosseteste's penitential concerns. The *Deus est, Templum Dei,* and *De modo confitendi* instruct the priest/confessor in his duties as the minister of penance. The *Perambulauit Iudas* and the *Notus in Iudea Deus* are written from the penitent's point of view: the first is designed for an audience of cloistered monks; the second is a very personal confession that may well reflect the penitential discipline in Grosseteste's own household.

The *Notus in Iudea Deus* begins with a catena of scriptural quotations encouraging the penitent to turn to God, and away from sin and ignorance, through confession (¶2). One should do this by imitating the Maccabean hero, Judah, who destroyed the wicked in the five cities of Egypt. For the penitent this means overcoming the sins which reside in the five corporeal senses or "cities" of the human body—sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. The true Judah (the penitent) proceeds by seeking out a priest, and accusing himself in the ritual formula which begins: "In the sight of the all-seeing and omnipotent God, and the blessed Mary, and all the saints, I confess . . . " (¶3).

Because all vices stem from pride as from a mother, the penitent first accuses himself of specific manifestations of pride such as might occur in the daily life of a cleric (¶4). He then proceeds to confess a number of other vices in turn: "I have sinned through envy and hatred (¶5), . . . through vainglory, sloth, and avarice (¶6), . . . through anger (¶7), . . . through perjury and lying (¶8), . . . and through gluttony" (¶9). The vice of *luxuria*, omitted here, receives separate treatment later in ¶¶12–15.

In ¶10 the penitent passes from the confession of specific sins to a confession of the deficiencies in his previous acts of penance. In another work, the *Meditaciones*, Grosseteste also instructed clerics to reflect on such defects: "You should reflect that you are uncertain whether you have brought forth the fruits befitting repentance [cf. Mt. 3.8]. You know not whether you have confessed purely and well, and undertaken an appropriate penance. You are uncertain whether you have performed this penance in love (that is, not merely out of fear of punishment, but from the love of justice)."[6] In the *Notus in Iudea Deus*, Grosseteste places these considerations about deficiencies in the acts of contrition, confession, and penitential satisfaction in the mouth of the penitent: "What is worse, because of my shame and my baseness I have never confessed the way in which I have sinned or my intention in sinning. Nor have I remembered all of my many sins . . . ; and those I have confessed I have not confessed fully . . . but I have divided my confession, disclosing different sins to different con-

[5]A more detailed version of this interrogatory has recently been identified in London, British Library MS Royal 8 C.vii, and is being prepared for publication.

[6]"The *Meditaciones* of Robert Grosseteste," ed. Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 36.1 (1985) 127.

fessors. I would speak one thing while intending another, hiding a fox's conscience in sheep's clothing." He goes on to confess his negligence in performing the prayers and fasts enjoined on him as penances in his previous confessions.[7] Finally, he confesses to a general laxness in his daily prayers that has impeded the fruitful performance of penance: "Frequently I have prayed in church without attending to what I said. God speaks to me in a psalm, and I to him; yet when I recite the psalm . . . I pay no attention to him or to myself, but . . . musing on impure and useless things, I give off a horrible stench in his face."[8]

In spite of all these failings, the penitent expresses his hope that by fully acknowledging his sinfulness he will obtain forgiveness before God (¶11).

At this point a medieval editor has apparently taken some liberties with the text. Sections 12–16 treat the vice *luxuria*, but some of this material, here printed in boldface, is extraneous to Grosseteste's confessional. Most of ¶12 is interpolated from the *Summa vitiorum* of William Peraldus.[9] Only the definition of a sin against nature—"quod fit quocumque modo effundatur semen ultro, id est scienter et prudenter, id est uoluntarie, extra vas ad hoc deputatum"—is reminiscent of Grosseteste's other writings.[10]

The following section (¶13) may belong to the original text. Like the earlier parts of the confessional it is written in the first person, and provides a formula for confessing general guilt with respect to sins of lechery and lust.

All of ¶14 appears to have been added by an editor, who has copied further material from Peraldus's treatment of luxury in his *Summa vitiorum*, and then concluded the digression with a quotation from "Isidore" and a reference to a letter presented by Bishop Grosseteste in 1250 to the Roman curia, then at Lyons. The letter, here identified by its incipit, is said to be found later in the manuscript,[11] and it has, in fact, been copied on fols. 243v–247, under the rubric: *Incipit epistola Roberti Lincolniensis ad curiam romanam.*[12]

In ¶15 the scribe apparently recommenced the copying of Grosseteste's confessional with an admonition to the penitent to confess the particular circumstances of his sins

[7]The penances mentioned here coincide with those recommended by Grosseteste in *De modo confitendi* (n. 3 above). Cf., for example, this text's "oraciones . . . pro uiuis et defunctis" and its "psalteria . . . pro uiuis et animabus defunctorum" and the penances prescribed in the *De modo*, ¶2.6: "Si clericus sit, dicat . . . ter psalmum 'Miserere mei Deus' pro vivis et quatuor pro defunctis," and ¶2.12: "Praeterea singulis diebus dicat septies Orationem Dominicam pro vivis et totidem pro defunctis," etc.

[8]The same idea is expressed forcefully in Grosseteste's *Perambulauit Iudas* (n. 3 above), ¶4: "Ubi . . . mens languet ab oracione, a meditacione, a deuocionis feruore, a ieiuniis, a uigiliis, et huiusmodi spiritualibus et corporalibus excercitiis, que sunt uera fructificacio, consequenter uincitur confessio. A tepido enim, et negligente, et disidioso, uelud a mortuo et quasi qui non sit, perit confessio."

[9]Peraldus's *Summa vitiorum* was completed by 1236. See Antoine Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut, vie et oeuvres," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 18 (1948) 184–197. Bio-bibliographical and manuscript information about Peraldus and his writings has been assembled by T. Kaeppeli, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi* 2 (Rome 1975) 133–152.

[10]Cf. Grosseteste, *Deus est* (n. 2 above) 282: "Et ut generaliter dicam, quomodocumque alter eorum semen effundit vigilando non modo naturali nec in loco debito, sodomiticum facit. Hoc dico propter aliquos coeuntes qui sponte semen emittunt extra vas naturale"; *De modo* (n. 3 above) ¶1.18: "De luxuria . . . . Si umquam ultro extra vas semen fuderit"; *Perambulauit* (n. 3 above) ¶34: "Si unquam extra uas ultro fudisti."

[11]See below, ¶14 lines 136–138.

[12]See n. 47 below.

of lust. He should begin by specifying how often, where, how gravely, and with whom he has sinned or consented to sin. He should then conclude with a detailed confession of these circumstances, for which Grosseteste provides a formulary.

Recognizing that the admission of these sins would be a shameful and embarassing undertaking, Grosseteste puts into the mouth of the penitent a brief reflection on the value of shame arising from confession to God and to the confessor (¶16).

In ¶¶17–20 he returns to the theme with which he began his treatise—the confession of sins committed by means of each of the five corporeal senses—a theme pursued at greater length in his *Perambulauit Iudas*.[13] Of the text printed below, only the beginning of ¶17, the first part of ¶19, and all of ¶20 can be attributed with some confidence to Grosseteste. The remainder of this material was supplied by the medieval editor, primarily from Peraldus's *Summa*, to elaborate on sins of the eyes and their appropriate remedies.

In ¶¶ 21–24 diverse sins are confessed, in no discernible order. Faults are listed in ¶¶21 and 22 which Grosseteste elsewhere treats under the sin of sloth (*accidia*).[14] His sensitivity to physical gestures and comportment—"<I have sinned> in rushing . . . with extended neck and waving arms (*extento . . . collo et tibiis extentis*) to vain and depraved entertainments" (¶21)—is also found in Grosseteste's other penitential writings.[15] The example he gives in ¶22, to illustrate a failure to fulfill licit vows, is indicative of the personal and familiar tone of this confessional:

> Again, it often happens that young people swear an oath that they are brothers. Under these circumstances let the penitent say: "I have also sinned in this, that with such and such a number of young friends my own age, who were once most dear to me in the world, I swore by oath and pledge to consider them henceforth as blood brothers. But I confess that I have failed in this, because I did not love them with an affection appropriate to such a sworn brother.

Section 23, concerning the unworthy reception of the Eucharist, and the first part of ¶24, listing a number of sins pertaining to the seven vices, are rather unsystematic, but the sins themselves and the vocabulary used to describe them are reminiscent of Grosseteste's treatment in his other penitential writings of sins arising from the seven vices and sins causing injury to the sacraments.[16] Section 24 concludes with some examples of sins against the ten commandments. To the commonplace confession of sins against the fifth commandment—*non furtum facias*—Grosseteste adds a number of homely examples drawn from the life of a student in the schools:

[13]Grosseteste, *Perambulauit* (n. 3 above) ¶¶5–15.

[14]Cf. Grosseteste, *De modo* (n. 3 above) ¶1.15: "De accidia . . . . Si ire ad ecclesiam neglexerit tempore debito . . . . Si illicita voverit et illorum executor fuerit. Si licita non solverit"; *Perambulauit* (n. 3 above) ¶31: "De accidia: Neglexisti addiscere simbolum uel missam audire, ad minus in omni die dominica, vel aliquid propter pigritiam, ut orare, surgere mane, ire ad ecclesiam, uerbum predicacionis audire . . . . Illicita uouisti et eorum exactor fuisti uel non fuisti. Licita uouisti et non soluisti."

[15]Grosseteste, *De modo* ¶1.26: "In opere <peccat> . . . per gestum in ostensione colli et nutibus oculorum, aut in extensione brachiorum, aut in cachinnis risuum, aut fractione vocum, aut motibus humerorum, aut accessu"; *Perambulauit* ¶16: "ad discurrendum, uagus et instabilis <sum>, et toto gestu corporis dissolutus et incultus, modo pretendens faciem irati, modo nimis leti, modo accidiosi, et huiusmodi, que non oportet tibi exprimere per singula."

[16]Cf. *Perambulauit* ¶¶26–35; *De modo* ¶1.12–52.

> I have sinned . . . by taking leaves and pieces of parchment (*cedulas*) from church books, and wax from candles, and by purloining other things, whether great or small, from my colleagues in the schools in my youth, and in churches . . . such things as that or that (and here, as always, one should enumerate silently the specific things touching one's conscience, as they come to mind).

Sections 25–28 conclude the work. The confession should be made in French (*gallice*) or in the native tongue (*ydiomate*) better known to the penitent. After confessing all his sins in thought, word, and deed, the penitent should complete his confession with another formula. This is provided in Latin, but the author reiterates that it should always be said in the vernacular (*set semper ydiomate et lingua magis nota*) (¶25). The emphasis here on confession in the vernacular is somewhat unusual in the penitential literature of this period, and the assumption that Anglo-Norman would be the better known of the vernaculars is also noteworthy. It is quite possible that Anglo-Norman was the language normally spoken by members of Grosseteste's *familia*, and evidence will be adduced below to suggest that this particular formulary was intended primarily for use in his household, rather than in the schools where Latin would be the normal language of the confessional.[17]

Next the priest should repeat a prayer for the penitent (¶26) and then absolve him (¶27). Finally, the priest should enjoin an appropriate penance. If the penitent is a secular cleric, the priest should prescribe the exercise of a virtue opposed to each of his vices,[18] as well as the punishment for each sin which is found in the "penitential" (*que in penitenciario inuenitur*). Grosseteste is unfortunately silent about the penitential in which these punishments are recorded, but he may have had in mind any of a number of collections,[19] including the one which he himself is said to have composed.[20] The priest should also mitigate or shorten the penance if the penitent is conspicuously sorrowful and contrite, and increase it correspondingly if he is not.

Should the penitent be a member of a monastic or regular community, the priest may not impose penances as he would for lay persons. Rather, for all secret crimes (*pro*

[17]On the use of Anglo-Norman in England at this time see M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters* (Edinburgh 1950), and *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford 1963); and J. Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (London 1923). On Grosseteste's use of Anglo-Norman see Thomson (n. 1 above) 152–159; and Herman Urtel, "Eine altfranzösische Beichte," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 33 (1909) 571–575, where there is an edition of an Anglo-Norman confession, ascribed to Grosseteste, based on a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek of Hamburg. (There is another copy of this treatise, unknown to Urtel and Thomson [155 no. 114], in British Library MS Egerton 3277, fols. 166–168v.) On French manuals of confession see J.-C. Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale (des origines à 1230)* (Geneva 1967) 558–578, and E. Brayer, "Un manuel de confession en ancien français conservé dans un manuscrit de Catane," *Ecole française de Rome: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 59 (1947) 155–198.

[18]Cf. below, ¶19: "Remedium . . . contra hoc uicium [i.e., luxuriam], quod principaliter in confessione iniungendum est, est eius oppositum, scilicet castitas."

[19]See Cyril Vogel, *Les "Libri paenitentiales,"* Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 27 (Turnhout 1978); Pierre J. Payer, "The Humanism of the Penitentials and the Continuity of the Penitential Tradition," *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984) 340–354. Grosseteste also refers his readers to a penitential collection at the end of his treatise *Deus est* (n. 2 above) 293: "De specialibus vero iniungendis ad praesens taceo, quia in multis sanctorum patrum traditionibus inveniuntur, cum etiam sic nec semper observari possint, sed secundum arbitrium viri discreti statum poenitentis solliciter attendentis canonum rigorem obtemperare permittunt."

[20]See *De modo* (n. 3 above) bk. 2, *De paenitentiis iniungendis.*

occultis criminibus), no matter how serious, the priest should simply admonish the sinner, in English or French, in the following terms:

> Pray well, brother, for the order, steadfastness, and improvement of your life, and, to the best of your ability, do well in God's house as far as concerns your end and the improvement you promise to God. All these things will be for you a penance of the first importance, and unto the remission of those sins you have committed, and of all the other transgressions you have done and would commit, should they come to mind. And first ask . . . that God by his mercy grant you pardon for your past sins, and safety from future offences, and eternal life at your death, or that he, because of the prayer of his sweet mother and of all the saints male and female, grant you to lead such a life in this world and to so cleanse your life by holy confession that you may be able after the course of this life to obtain eternal life, or that God grant you to live well, and die well, and arrive at the great joy. Amen. (¶28)[21]

Of all the penitential writings attributed to Robert Grosseteste, the *Notus in Iudea Deus* is the least systematic. Some of the disorder may be due, as suggested above, to scribal tampering with the original text, but the general impression left by this treatise is of a casual and personal work directed to a familiar audience, rather than a polished tract for the benefit of an anonymous reading public.[22] This impression is strengthened by an examination of the manuscript which preserves the only surviving copy of this confessional formulary.

The unique copy is on fols. 186–188 of MS 499 in the library of Lambeth Palace, London. Apparently unknown to Grosseteste's earlier biographers, this manuscript began to be recognized as an important witness to the bishop's activities when, in 1932, M. R. James and Claude Jenkins published a careful description of it in their *Descriptive Catalogue* of Lambeth Palace's medieval collection.[23] From the scribe's use of the "Basingstoke" or "St. Albans" numerals, and the frequent occurrence of Grosseteste's name in the contents, they concluded that the volume's compiler was in some way connected with the Grosseteste circle.[24] Thomson suggested that it might have been copied by a member of Grosseteste's household.[25]

None of these scholars, however, gives a complete description of the Grosseteste materials in this manuscript. Because of its bearing on the authenticity of the *Notus*

[21]This Anglo-Norman passage, along with the Anglo-Norman introduction to the confession from the beginning of ¶25, has been printed by Thomson (n. 1 above) 155 no. 115, under the title: *Iniunccio penitenti gallice*. The editors are indebted to Professor Ruth J. Dean for her helpful comments about the Anglo-Norman material in MS 499.

[22]One might usefully compare this confessional formulary with the *Confessio* written by Amaury de Montfort during his imprisonment in England. See L. E. Boyle, "*E cathena et carcere*: The Imprisonment of Amaury de Montfort, 1276," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford 1976) 379–397, repr. in Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200–1400* (London 1981). Both confessions presume a systematic order for recalling one's sins, but the actual content of both is uneven and sketchy, exactly as it might be in an actual, rather than a hypothetical, confession.

[23]M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* 5 (Cambridge 1932) 691–701. Cf. Thomson (n. 1 above) 12 (where MS 499 is listed among the "principal collections of Grosseteste's works"), 125–126, 135, 137, 155, 157–158.

[24]James and Jenkins 691, 701.

[25]Thomson (n. 1 above) 12.

in Iudea Deus, and its importance as a witness to Grosseteste's activities, we have here collected a summary of the materials preserved in Lambeth MS 499 which pertain to his career and writings.

This manuscript appears to have been written by a single scribe,[26] in a small, highly abbreviated Anglicana bookhand,[27] during the mid-to-late 1280s.[28] Containing collections of materials relating to theology, preaching, pastoral administration, and canon, civil, and private law, the compilation is divided into four parts, each introduced by a table of contents in the hand of the scribe. Numerous cross-references among the four parts indicate that the collection was conceived and executed as a single work.[29] The manuscript came to Lambeth Palace from Whalley Abbey, probably transferred there in 1296 from the abbey of Stanlaw, Cheshire, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.[30]

Part 1 of the codex includes a copy of the pseudo-Augustinian *De unitate Trinitatis* (PL 42.1157–1172). It begins on fol. 61v, and the conclusion of the printed text is to be found on fol. 69. The scribe continues, however, to expand the text of "Augustine" he was copying by supplying other apposite materials. On fol. 70v he comments, "Antequam finem faciamus et terminum operi demus, sciendum est quod duodecim sunt articuli fidei, sicut a patribus traditur." This is followed by the twelve articles of faith as found in Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* (3.2), and other excerpts from the same source, which continue to fol. 72.[31] On fol. 72v the scribe provides another exposition of the articles of faith, this one drawn from the *Instituta* of Roger of Weseham,[32] dean of Lincoln Cathedral and a close friend of Grosseteste, who was instrumental in arranging Roger's election to the see of Coventry and Lichfield in 1245.[33]

The last section of Part 1, entitled *Expositio super principium Mathei . . . cum diuersis narracionibus*, includes one fanciful story, on fol. 125v, which concerns Grosseteste and Pope Innocent IV: When certain cardinals reported Grosseteste's death to

[26]James and Jenkins 691; *pace* Thomson 12, who suggests that "various scribes" contributed to the writing of the manuscript.

[27]The hand has a number of features in common with an example of script described and illustrated by M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500* (Oxford 1969; repr. 1980) pl. 1(i), "written towards the end of the thirteenth century."

[28]Many of the documents copied in the codex are dated, some from the mid-thirteenth century, but most from the period 1270–1274. The latest dates (1275, 1284) are found on fols. 263–306v, which may preserve later additions to the original collection (see James and Jenkins 700–701). One of the last items in the manuscript is a *Summa* of English legal procedure by Ralph of Hengeham. It has been edited by W. H. Dunham, *Radulphi de Hengeham summae* (Cambridge, Mass. 1932), who comments (lxxix–lxxxi) that this manuscript preserves the earliest version (pre-1275) of Hengeham's work.

[29]One of these, a reference from pt. 3 to a text in pt. 4, is found in the work edited below, ¶14.

[30]Rose Graham, "Cardinal Ottoboni and the Monastery of Stratford Langthorne," *English Historical Review* 33 (1918) 213–214.

[31]Grosseteste, *Templum Dei* (n. 3 above) ¶¶4.1–2, 7.13–25, 12.1–2, 9.10, 5.3–4, 6.5 (slightly altered).

[32]Fols. 72v–73. Roger's text is printed, from Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodl. 57, in an appendix to C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. 2 (Oxford 1968) 149–152. Our scribe, who stopped transcribing at ". . . seruans et misericordiam," the concluding words of the twelfth article of faith, attributes the work explicitly: "Finem istius sententie quere in magno albo libro, scilicet qui intitulatur Apoc., in fine constitucionum Rogeri de Weseham' Couentr' et Lych' episcopi, que sic incipiunt: Quoniam secundum apostolum nemo potest aliud fundamentum ponere etc."

[33]See J. H. Srawley, "Grosseteste's Administration of the Diocese of Lincoln," in Callus (n. 1 above) 174–176.

Innocent, who was then at Lyons, the pope replied that Grosseteste was truly dead, and buried in hell. The next night "Saint" Robert appeared to Innocent in a dream, reported that he was not dead but living with Christ, and foretold that Innocent himself would shortly be dead and buried in hell. The next morning Innocent was unexpectedly found dead, and the stench of his body was scarcely bearable.[34] A longer and more detailed version of this same tale, headed *Memorandum de quodam notabili sompnio*, is found in Part 4 of the manuscript, on fol. 269.[35]

Part 2 of the mansucript (fols. 132–163), consisting primarily of sermons and sermon materials, also contains hitherto unnoticed evidence linking its compiler with the circle of Robert Grosseteste. In their description of the codex, James and Jenkins draw attention to the scribe's use of the so-called "Basingstoke" system of numerals, supposedly introduced into England from Greece by John of Basingstoke,[36] archdeacon of Leicester, in Grosseteste's diocese of Lincoln, from 1235 until his death in 1252. John was on intimate terms with Grosseteste, and was probably one of the bishop's assistants in his translations from the Greek.[37] Although John's scholastic writings did not circulate widely (none has been identified in extant manuscripts), the scribe of Lambeth MS 499 was apparently familiar with at least one of them. At the end of a sermon on the Ascension he appends a short passage concerning the nature of human bodies which he ascribes explicitly to this archdeacon of Leicester.[38]

Part 3 of the codex preserves the unique copies of several short works ascribed to Grosseteste. The table of contents for this part (fol. 164) includes the following items:

Tituli tercie partis huius collecte

3. Diuerse auctoritates doctorum
4. R. grosse teste super Ps. 'Miserere me deus.'
5. De modo faciendi confessionem secundum eundem.
6. Oracio eiusdem ad sanctam Margaretam, quam eciam dicere solebat magister Salomon socius eius.

[34]Fol. 125v: "Dictum est Innocencio pape quarto a cardinalibus: Pater, ille frater noster Robertus Lincoln' episcopus mortuus est. Quibus papa respondit: Vere, inquit, mortuus est, et sepultus in inferno. Cui sequenti nocte dormienti sanctus Robertus per visionem apparens dixit: Dormis? Cui ille respondit: Quis es tu? Ego sum, inquit, ille Robertus Lincoln' episcopus, non, ut heri dixisti, mortuus, set uiuens cum Christo. Set et tu modo morieris et sepelieris in inferno. Et mane facto inuentus est papa subito mortuus, et tantum fetens quod uix potuit sustineri. Hoc accidit aput Lugdun'."

[35]See n. 53 below.

[36]See n. 24 above; cf. Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 (London 1880) 284–286.

[37]J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth-Century England* (London 1936; repr. New York 1971) 54–55; Kathryn D. Hill, "Robert Grosseteste and His Work of Greek Translation," *Studies in Church History* 13 (*The Orthodox Churches and the West*), ed. D. Baker (1976) 213–222, esp. 218.

[38]Fol. 152: "Et nota quod sunt tria genera in corpore humano: Primum genus est in synereth que est subtilissima uena exiens a corde et trifurcatur, scilicet in cephalicam, medianam, et epaticam. Pars infima est ad uitam uegetabilem; superior est ad uitam apprehensionis sensibilis; supprema est ad percepcionem discrecionis racionalis. Verbi sunt magistri Iohannis de Wilc', archidiaconi Leyrcestriensis, super Euangelium [Mc. 16.44]: Recumbentibus undecim etc." For John's alias, "of Winchester," see D. E. Greenway, ed., *John Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300* 3 [Lincoln] (London 1977) 34. This passage can be profitably compared with Grosseteste's description of the three parts of the human body in his *Templum Dei* (n. 3 above) ¶2.5 (p. 31); cf. ibid. p. 3 n. 8.

The last two entries of item 3 (*Diuerse auctoritates doctorum*) are specifically attributed to Grosseteste (fol. 184r–v). The first reads: "Ro<bertus> Linc' [= Lincolniensis] episcopus: Non uersus de psalmo, non oracio de uersu, non diccio de oracione, non sillaba de diccione, non littera de sillaba debet transiliri uel omitti, quia si omittatur littera, erit vox non significatiua, vt *dominu* pro *dominus*. . . ."[39]

This passage is followed immediately on fol. 184v by an Anglo-Norman prayer which, the scribe reports, Grosseteste was wont to say following his meals ("Idem post prandium hoc dicere consueuit"). It includes a Latin *responsio*, presumably to be said by the other members of the household at table.[40]

Item 4 in the table of contents is an exposition of Psalm 50, the fourth of the seven "penitential" psalms. It has been transcribed immediately after the Anglo-Norman prayer and Latin *responsio* mentioned above, and is introduced by the words "Idem, super Psalmum 'Miserere mei deus' etc."[41] This intriguing piece differs from Grosseteste's notes on this psalm in Bologna, Biblioteca communale MS A.983, fols. 27–28, but the tradition of his commentaries and notes on the Psalter, especially psalms 1–79, still awaits thorough investigation.[42]

The fifth item mentioned in the table of contents follows immediately upon the conclusion of this exposition of Psalm 50. It is the confessional formula edited below, introduced here with the words "Idem, de confessione et modo confitendi peccata" (fols. 186–188).[43]

Item 6, on fol. 188 immediately after the confessional formulary, is introduced with the words "Idem, scilicet magister R. grosse teste, in oracione ad sanctam margaretam." Thomson printed all of this brief Anglo-Norman prayer,[44] but failed to draw attention to the interesting notice in the table of contents, that Master Solomon, Grosseteste's "socius," was accustomed to repeat this same prayer. This is almost certainly a reference to Master Solomon of Dover, who was a trusted member of Grosseteste's *familia*, and who served for a time as the bishop's personal chaplain before succeeding John of Basingstoke as archdeacon of Leicester in 1252.[45] It is this same Solomon who is commemorated later in Lambeth MS 499, on fol. 215: "Memorandum de . . . Archidiacono Leyrc' cui tradidit Christus palmam in die palmarum"—for this notice is followed by a sign directing the reader to the bottom of the leaf, where one finds these verses:

> Eticus ac logicus, theologicus iste disertus,
> Salomon expertus doctor, miserisque misertus,
> Sit serto certus, christique stola sit opertus.

This is the only known reference to Solomon's teaching activities. When it is combined

[39]Printed by Thomson (n. 1 above) 135 no. 97. Only this first sentence can be safely ascribed to Grosseteste; the remainder of the passage printed by Thomson is possibly an illustration appended by the scribe.

[40]Printed, ibid. 158 no. 118.

[41]See ibid. 137 no. 101, under the misleading title *De penitencia Dauid.*

[42]See ibid. 75–78; B. Smalley, "The Biblical Scholar," in Callus (n. 1 above) 76–77.

[43]Thomson (n. 1 above) 125–126 no. 82. Thomson prints separately the Anglo-Norman material in this treatise (155 no. 115).

[44]Ibid. 157 no. 117.

[45]See K. Major, "The *Familia* of Robert Grosseteste," in Callus (n. 1 above) 226–227.

with other references, it provides us with a remarkably personal and valuable description of this associate of Grosseteste.

Part 4 of the Lambeth codex is given over primarily to legal texts and formularies. Item 1 is described in the table of contents (fol. 217) as "De titulis quinque librorum decretalium epistolarum, et de aliis." After listing the titles of Gregory IX's *Extravagantes* (fols. 217v–218), the scribe records the titles of the canons of the First Council of Lyons (1245), convoked by Pope Innocent IV, prefacing these with the rubric, "Hec constituciones noue que secuntur statute sunt ab Innocencio papa 4. apud Lugdunum in concilio generali, presente Roberto grosse teste Linc' episcopo, qui ibi predicauit, assumens thema de euangelio, scilicet 'Turba plurima strauerunt uestes suas in uia.' Et ibi primo statutum est dare decimas feni. Quere in cronicis quo anno ab incarnacione domini." Grosseteste did indeed attend the Council of Lyons in 1245, but no sermon on this theme has yet been attributed to him.[46]

The sixteenth item in Part 4 of the manuscript is described in the table of contents (fol. 217) as "De epistolis R. grosse teste Linc' episcopi ad curiam romanam, et scriptis domini pape ad prelatos angl'." These early copies of two important documents have apparently gone unnoticed by bibliographers of the bishop. The first is a copy of the famous "memorandum" delivered in the presence of Pope Innocent and his cardinals at Lyons in 1250.[47] In some manuscripts this text is described as a "sermon"; in others, dependent on an account of the proceedings by Robert Marsh, archdeacon of Oxford and a member of Grosseteste's staff who was present with him in Lyons, its form is unspecified. He tells us only that four copies, written on parchment rolls (*rotuli*), were presented, one to the pope and the others to three of the cardinals, of whom John, cardinal deacon of Saint Nicholas, read it aloud. These documents may well have been in the form of letters,[48] but Marsh's account preserves no evidence of an *intitulatio* or salutation, valediction, or dating clause. The copy in Lambeth MS 499 is unique in that it preserves a long salutation and abbreviated valediction and dating clause, elements of epistolary form unrecorded by Marsh and omitted by subsequent editors of the Lyons dossier. After the scribe's rubric, *Incipit epistola Roberti Lincoln' episcopi ad curiam romanam*, the letter begins, "Sanctissimo patri in Christo, Domino I<n-nocencio>, dei gracia sacrosancte romane ecclesie summo pontifici, eiusdemque sanctissime sedis cardinalibus vniuersis, suus frater minimus R<obertus> Lincoln' humilis minister, si quid possunt extremi peccatorum oraciones: Dominus noster ihesus Christus, eternus dei patris filius, de sacratissimo sinu . . ." (fol. 243v). The letter ends on fol. 247 with the words "quod dictis timore et desiderio cogentibus a me peccatorum extremo est attemptatum. Conseruet uos altissimus, etc. Datum, etc."

This letter is followed immediately by another, addressed, according to the

[46]For the English preparations for this council, see *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church* 2: *A.D. 1205–1313*, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 pts. (Oxford 1964) 1.388–395, 401–402. The collector/scribe may be mistaken in his suggestion that Grosseteste preached at this Council. See also the scribe's comments reported in n. 53 below.

[47]Thomson (n. 1 above) 141–143; edited by Servus Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons 1250: Edition of the Documents," *Collectanea franciscana* 41 (1971) 350–369. Neither scholar mentions this manuscript copy.

[48]See the "Complaints presented in the General Council of Lyon, 1245," in Powicke and Cheney (n. 46 above) 391–395, which are in the form of a letter addressed to the cardinals of the Roman church, and which were also copied in *rotuli* (391–392).

manuscript, to legates of the pope (*Epistola eiusdem ad nuncios*). This is the celebrated Letter 128 in which Grosseteste refused to admit a nephew of Innocent IV to a canonry in Lincoln.[49] It begins on fol. 247: "Intelleximus uos litteram domini pape recepisse in hec uerba. Innocencius episcopus, etc. dilecto filio archiepiscopo cantuar' et magistro Innocencio in Anglia commoranti, salutem, etc. Et infra. Nouerit discrecio quod mandatis apostolicis . . . ," and ends on fol. 247v: "et non pater domini nostri ihesu christi qui est in celis. Conseruet vos Altissimus per secula sempiterna. Data Lincoln', etc."

The scribe has next copied (fols. 247v–248), beside the marginal heading *Littere domini pape*, the text of an encyclical letter, *Postquam regimini*, of Innocent IV, directed to all prelates, chapters, convents, and patrons of Christendom, wherein the pope renounced the abuses of the system of provision of foreigners to ecclesiastical benefices, and essentially restored the old rights of patronage.[50] The text of this document had been thought to survive, outside the register of Innocent's letters (Vatican Archives, Reg. Vat. 23, fol. 30r–v), only in copies made for the *Burton Annals* and the *Liber additamentorum* of Matthew Paris.[51]

This papal letter is referred to again, later in the manuscript, where there is one final reference to Bishop Grosseteste. On fol. 269 has been transcribed the second version of the story concerning his appearance in a dream to Innocent IV.[52] This second account is somewhat more detailed, but no less fanciful, than the first. After describing Pope Innocent's death and condemnation in heaven, the scribe goes on to modify the scurrilous picture of Innocent conveyed by the story. He explains that while Innocent was still alive he passed legislation (*fecit constitucionem*) that Italians should not leave Italy to succeed to a benefice. Previously, the scribe tells us, Innocent was in the habit of ordering English prelates either to provide benefices for Italians or to face suspension from office. Grosseteste vigorously opposed this practice as "contrary to the law, the probity of the church, and the authority of its prelates."[53]

This reference to a constitution of Innocent redressing the abuses of papal provi-

[49]See Thomson (n. 1 above) 143, 212–213; F. A. C. Mantello, "Cod. theol. 2207 of Hamburg's Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek: The Thomson Facsimiles," *Scriptorium* 39 (1985) 104 and n. 9.

[50]See L. E. Boyle, "Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1979) 34–39, repr. in his *Pastoral Care* (n. 22 above).

[51]Ibid. 35.

[52]See n. 34 above.

[53]Fol. 269: "Item memorandum quod Robertus grosse teste Linc' episcopus in predicacione sua, scilicet 'turba plurima,' et in epistola sua que precessit, scilicet 'Dominus noster ihesus Christus,' animum Innocencii pape 4 multum commouerat. Vnde idem papa, postea audiens de morte episcopi, dixit, Vere, inquiens, mortuus est et sepultus in inferno. Nocte autem sequenti idem episcopus per uisionem pape, pontificalibus indutus, apparuit dicens: Surge, miser, et ueni ad iudicium. Dixisti enim heri quod ego sepultus fui in inferno. Ego autem uiuo, et tu mortuus sepelieris in inferno. Et compulit eum uenire. Qui surgens uidebatur astare coram iudice christo, sedente ex una parte beata uirgine, et ex altera sancta ecclesia in forma nobilis mulieris, que dixit: Domine, uindica me de isto misero qui me confundit in terra. Astitit eciam diabolus loquens iudici ita: Cum tu sis iudex piusque per omnia uindex, hanc animam miseri quam peto redde mihi. Eo respondit papa: Cum tu sis iudex pius et mitis, miserere. Iudicium nolo, set pie parce mihi. Et dixit illi iudex: Te nec opes nec apex te rediment. Ego uindex. Conuertensque se ad diabolum dixit: Hanc animam pape quam petis, ecce cape. Euigilans autem papa fecit constitucionem ut ytalicus non succerderet ultra ytalico. Prius autem solebat mandare prelatis anglie ut tali prouident in tot marcatis uel libratis beneficii, alioquin se noscerent ab illo die suspensos. Et hoc reprehendebat R. Linc', quia fuit contra ius et honestatem ecclesie et prelatorum auctoritatem." Cf. the similar stories told by Matthew Paris (n. 36 above) 429–430, 471–472.

sions to foreign benefices would appear to be a clear reference to the encyclical letter, *Postquam regimini*, called a "statute" by Innocent himself, and transcribed earlier in the codex. This letter was issued by the pope some three weeks after Grosseteste died.[54] Leonard Boyle has recently called attention to the remarkable change of policy embodied in Innocent's letter, and has associated this change with Grosseteste's protestations.[55] The scribe of Lambeth MS 499 was of the same mind and provided such details as add verisimilitude to the entire affair.

In summary, it may be said that the Lambeth codex is a unique witness to activities in and around the episcopal household of Robert Grosseteste. The scribe has preserved early and independent copies of important documents concerning Grosseteste's relations with the papacy. And he has provided detailed and otherwise unparalleled information abut three of the bishop's close associates—Roger of Weseham, John of Basingstoke, and Solomon of Dover. Finally, he has collected a number of intimate observations about the prayers and devotions in Bishop Grosseteste's household. All of these considerations appear to justify the assumptions of James and Jenkins and of Thomson that the manuscript was compiled by someone close to Grosseteste's circle. If the scribe himself was not a member of the bishop's household, he was certainly an early inheritor of the oral and written traditions concerning the saintly bishop and his familiars. As such, he was in a position to collect and transcribe not only official documents and popular stories, but also a number of informal prayers and treatises circulating within the episcopal *familia.*

In this light, the scribe's explicit attribution to Grosseteste of the penitential formulary *Notus in Iudea Deus* deserves some credence. Internal evidence from the text itself also tends to confirm the manuscript ascription to Robert Grosseteste. Most notable are the verbal similarities between this text and the *Perambulauit Iudas*, ascribed to Grosseteste in two of its four manuscript copies.[56] In both treatises the confessional formulary is introduced with the same two scriptural authorities and in nearly identical terms:

Notus in Iudea Deus

Qualiter . . . fieri debeat <confessio> ostenditur in libro Mac., ubi dicitur quod "Iudas," id est confitens, "perambulauit 5 ciuitates, et perdidit impios ex eis, et auertit iram ab Israel." "Erunt" autem, inquit Ysaias, "5 ciuitates in terra Egipti loquentes linguam Chanaan." *Terra Egipti*: corpus peccati; *quinque ciuitates*: 5 corporis sensus, videlicet visus, auditus, gustus, odoratus, et tactus. Has 5 ciuitates perambulat Iudas, id est uere confitens, accedens ad sacerdotem, hoc modo se in principio accusans et dicens: In conspectu Dei omnia uidentis et omnipotentis, et beate Marie, et omnium sanctorum, confiteor Deo omnipotenti, et beate Marie, et omnibus sanctis, et tibi, pater, quia ego . . . . (¶3)

Perambulauit Iudas

"Perambulauit Iudas v ciuitates, et perdidit impios ex eis, et auertit iram ab Israel" . . . . Sic ergo perambulet Iudas ciuitates suas. "Erant", ait Ysayas, "v ciuitates in terra Egypti loquentes lingua Canaan." Terra Egypti est corpus peccati; v ciuitates v corporis sensus, scilicet visus, auditus, gustus, odoratus, et tactus. Has autem ciuitates perambulet Iudas, id est vere confitens, accedens ad sacerdotem, hoc modo in principio accusans se et dicens: In conspectu Dei omnipotentis et omnia uidentis, et beate Marie, et omnium angelorum, et omnium sanctorum, confiteor me miserum reum et indignum peccatorem . . . . (¶¶2, 5)

[54]See Boyle (n. 50 above) 33–34.

[55]Ibid. 33–39.

[56]Grosseteste, *Perambulauit* (n. 3 above).

Another striking similarity between the two works is found in the description of sins occasioned by the sense of sight. The Lambeth scribe may have distorted slightly the original intention of the passage, but the underlying conceit—that one sins with the eyes not only by looking at beautiful women, but also by watching animals copulate—is unusual in the penitential literature:

Confiteor . . . me grauiter per v corporis mei sensus peccasse: visu . . . animalium et feminarum concubitus consciencia inmunda intuendo. (¶17)	Quandoque . . . delectabar uidere pulcritudinem mulierum, conmixtionem animalium irracionabilium . . . fedaui meos intuitus . . . . (¶6)

Similar extended verbal parallels are rare in the remainder of the text, but numerous passages agree in style and in thought with other penitential writings attributed to Grosseteste.[57] The cumulative evidence of independent and uncontradicted manuscript ascriptions for each of these works, along with striking internal resemblances among the several texts, builds an increasingly cogent case for his authorship.

If we presume Grosseteste's authorship, and attend to the evidence of the manuscript which preserves the unique copy of this text, it is possible to draw several tentative conclusions about the date of composition and the purpose of the *Notus in Iudea Deus*. The relevant datable materials in the codex all concern the later years of Grosseteste's episcopate, which extended from 1235 to 1253. This is no guarantee that the treatise was originally composed at the end of his career, but it does argue for its currency in his household during the final years. The text itself is personal rather than doctrinal, and thus provides no evidence for dating on doctrinal grounds. The informal nature of the work and its insistence on confession in the vernacular (particularly Anglo-Norman) support the assumption that it, like the Anglo-Norman grace after meals and the prayer to Saint Margaret which accompany it in the manuscript, was intended for use by the members of Grosseteste's household. It was, perhaps, never intended for circulation as a formal treatise.

For this edition of Robert Grosseteste's *Notus in Iudea Deus* the editors have transcribed the text preserved on fols. 186–188 of MS 499 in the library of Lambeth Palace, London, silently expanding all abbreviations. The orthography of this unique witness to the text has been retained, but punctuation and capitalization are in accord with modern taste and convenience. For ease of reference the text has been divided into numbered sections. Parentheses enclose indications of change of folio in the manuscript; angle brackets surround the title suggested for the work by the editors, as well as letters and words supplied for the sake of the sense. Lowercase superscript letters of the alphabet direct the reader to an *apparatus criticus* whenever the text has been corrected by the editors and, in one case, where the reading of the manuscript cannot be deciphered and has resisted emendation. Superscript numerals refer the reader to an *apparatus fontium*, and boldface has been used to signal the unacknowledged interpolations in sections 12, 14, 17, 18, and 19 of material from the *Summa vitiorum* of William Peraldus.

[57]See the examples cited above, nn. 6–8, 10, 13–17, 19, 20.

<NOTUS IN IUDEA DEUS>

¶1. Idem, *De confessione et modo confitendi peccata*

¶2. Psalmus: "Notus in Iudea Deus . . . ."[1] *Iudea* interpretatur confessio. Item psalmus: "In exitu Israel de Egipto . . . facta est Iudea sanctificacio eius . . . ."[2] *Israel* uir uidens Deum interpretatur, significans peccatorem proponentem conuerti ad Deum, in cuius exitu ab *Egipto*, id est a mundo—*Egiptus* enim interpretatur tenebre, significans mundum tenebris peccatorum et ignorancie inuolutum—*facta est Iudea*, id est confessio, *sanctificacio eius*—sine confessione enim non est salus. Propterea Proverbium: "Iustus in principio accusator est sui,"[3] quia omnia in confessione lauantur.

¶3. Qualiter autem fieri debeat ostenditur in libro Mac., ubi dicitur quod "Iudas," is est confitens, "perambulauit 5 ciuitates, et perdidit impios ex eis, et auertit iram ab Israel."[4] "Erunt" autem, inquit Ysaias, "5 ciuitates in terra Egipti loquentes linguam Chanaan."[5] *Terra Egipti*: corpus peccati; *quinque ciuitates*: 5 corporis sensus, uidelicet visus, auditus, gustus, odoratus, et tactus. Has 5 ciuitates perambulat Iudas, id est uere confitens, accedens ad sacerdotem, hoc modo se in principio accusans et dicens: In conspectu Dei omnia uidentis et omnipotentis, et beate Marie, et omnium sanctorum, confiteor Deo omnipotenti, et beate Marie, et omnibus sanctis, et tibi, pater, quia ego peccator in peccatis conceptus, et in peccatis natus, et in peccatis nutritus, et, quod grauius est, tot annis et tot temporibus uite in contagiis peccatorum sum conuersatus. Expedit ergo ut in ueritatem me discusciam, et meipsum mihi reddam, et congnoscam quam uilis, quam fragilis, et quam labilis sum; et quia a Deo per peccatum recessi, per ueram confessionem ad eum redeam, per quem siue sine quo nihil sum nec aliquid facere possum.

¶4. Set quoniam a superbia tanquam a matre omnia oriuntur uicia, ideo ab ipsa incipio, et me reum et peccatorem, et eius circumstanciis et quocunque modo peccatum per superbiam committi potest, me peccasse et uilissimum peccatorem esse congnosco. Sepissime enim meipsum extollendo, alios contempsi; atque exemplo malo alios inpediui et aliis nocui, quandoque meipsum in oculis meis[a] extollendo pro sanitate corporis—cum nihil sit uita mea nisi uapor ad modicum parens—pro uestibus, pro fama bona, quamuis falsa, que super me oriebatur; nec aput Deum qualiter uiuerem, set aput homines qualiter innotescerem, excogitaui. Atque in huiusmodi rebus transitoriis et caducis delectabar, putans me aliquid ualere cum nihil ualui. Quandoque eciam murmuraui pro uili uictu, pro duricia laboris, pro aspera correpcione, pro negata licencia, pro despectu quo me contempni ab aliis suspicabar, pro ieiunio et uigiliarum

[a]in oculis meis] et oculos meos *MS*

[1]Ps. 75.2
[2]Ps. 113.1, 2
[3]Cf. Pr. 18.17
[4]1 Mac. 3.8
[5]Is. 19.18

prolixitate, pro illata iniuria et conuicio, uel cum dicebatur aut fiebat aut inpositum mihi aliquid erat contra uoluntatem meam; sicque omnibus me prestanciorem esse et honorari a potentibus quam plurimum peroptaui.

¶5. Peccaui eciam nimis et supra modum per inuidiam et odium, scilicet inuidendo proximorum profectui et perfeccioni, murmurans in corde meo nequissimo quod aliquos in aliquo diciores, uel potenciores, uel me proficienciores esse cognoui, in animo meo dolorem habens ex quorumdam eorum felicitate prouenientem.

¶6. Peccaui eciam per inanem gloriam, et tristiciam, et auariciam, ea scilicet que habui male tenendo, et ea <que> non habui nec habere potui iniuste et illicite appetendo.

¶7. Item peccaui nimis per iram et animi mei tempestatem, qua aduersus alios commotus fui. Aliquando, fratres meos qui eodem sanguine quo ego redempti sunt odiendo, sciebam tamen quod in natura sua boni erant et a bono factore facti, set illos ideo odio habui, quia ego malus eram, et male eis utebar, et malum de illis suspicabar. Set et omnia que mihi nocebant uel displicebant, desiderabam ut non essent. Aliquando eciam quosdam proximorum meorum, quamuis non essent, per falsam suspicionem reputaui[b] pro inimicis, atque ita odiui, qui, eciam licet ita essent, secundum dominicum preceptum propter Deum diligendi sunt. "Diligite," inquit, "inimicos uestros . . . ut sitis filii Patris uestri,"[6] etc. Et de hiis omnibus me reum et peccatorem esse confiteor et manifesto.

¶8. Peccaui eciam per iuramentum falsum mendacium affirmando, et quod uerum sciui falsum demonstrando, et quod falsum fuit pro uero proferendo, ita multociens contra conscienciam meam et aliter quam in corde sensi loquendo. Et sic quibusdam menciendo obfui, quamuis raro,[c] uel profui; quibusdam uoluntate fallendi mendacium affirmando obfui. Detracciones sepissime audiui, et sic † . . . †[d] inter amicos (fol. 186v) detracciones proferendo, discordiam seminaui.

¶9. Item peccaui per uentris ingluuiem, pluries ante tempus et post commedendo, et amplius quam necesse fuit de cibis et potibus gulose sumendo. Et non solum in cibis, uerum eciam in cibi concupiscencia et in ebrietatibus me multum peccasse et reum esse manifesto.

¶10. Set, quod graue est, numquam[e] eo modo aut ea intencione qua peccaui peccata mea confessus sum, propter uerecundiam et propter turpitudinem. Nec omnium recordatus sum propter uetustatem et propter multitudinem; que autem confessus sum non pure confessus sum propter turpitudinem, set confessionem meam diuisi et diuersa peccata diuersis sacerdotibus manifestaui. Finxi me esse quod non eram; dixi me uelle quod nolebam. Aliud ore dicebam et aliud corde uolebam, et ita sub ouina pelle uulpinam conscienciam abscondebam.

[b] reputaui] -tans *MS*
[c] obfui quamuis raro] quamuis raro "obfui" *MS*
[d] *Reading of MS uncertain*
[e] numquam] vnquam *MS*

[6] Mat. 5.44, 45

Oraciones et ieiunia que in eadem confessione ficta et rara mihi iniungebantur non persolui, nec in uigiliis sollempnitatibusque sanctorum ad ieiunia statutis, sicut decet Christianos ad hoc etatem habentes, ieiunaui, nec eciam horas beate <Marie> nec oraciones que pro uiuis et defunctis et aliquando pro culpis meis apertis iniuncte fuerunt, nec psalteria que pro uiuis et animabus defunctorum dixisse debueram persoluebam. Nec eciam alias oraciones, quas ex debito persoluere tenebar, cum tanta festinacione et deuocione qua decuit reddidi. Set ubi peccatum meum emendare debui, ibi sepissime plus peccaui. In ecclesia enim sepe oraui non attendens quid dixi. Loquitur mihi Deus in psalmo et ego illi; nec tamen, cum psalmum dico, attendo cuius psalmus sit. Iccirco maximam iniuriam Deo facio cum illum precor ut precem meam exaudiat.[7] Ego uero nec illi nec mihi intendo, set, quod deterius est, inmunda et inutilia in corde meo uersando, fetorem horribilem eius aspectibus ingero.

¶11. Verumptamen, quia me peccatorem non nego set peccatum meum recongnosco, erit, ut spero, aput Deum, pium iudicem, qui dicit: "Nolo mortem peccatoris, set ut conuertatur et uiuat,"[8] inpetracio uenie ista congnicio<ne> culpe. Vt ergo peccato moriar et Deo uiuam,[9] dicam miseriam meam, quoniam "iustus in principio sermonis accusator est sui,"[10] et quoniam noticia peccati inicium est salutis, sicut dicit Augustinus super Iohanne: "Confessio operum malorum inicium est operum bonorum."[11] "Magna ergo," secundum Gregorium, "est perfeccio, sue inperfeccionis congnicio."[12]

¶12.[13] Sequitur de peccato luxurie, que **diuiditur in 5** partes uel 5 genera. **Prima est simplex fornicacio**, scilicet quando solutus peccat cum soluta; **secunda: stuprum, quod est illicita defloracio uirginum; tercia est adulterium, quod est ad alterius thorum accessio; 4 est incestus**, id est non castus, **quod est consanguineorum abusus; 5 est peccatum contra naturam, quod fit** quocumque modo effundatur semen ultro, id est scienter et prudenter, id est uoluntarie, extra vas ad hoc deputatum. **De isto modo cum magna cautela loquendum est et predicandum, interogaciones in confessionibus faciendo ut nihil hominibus reueletur quod eis occasionem prestet peccandi.**

¶13. Si igitur confitens se in aliquo istorum reum intellexerit, dicat ita: Confiteor ergo me peccatorem in conspectu Dei esse et, ut credo, super omnes homines grauius et uilius peccasse per luxuriam et libidinem, quam et ego isto modo feci, et aliis facientibus consensi, scilicet si ita fecerit, et dicendum est qualiter et quociens, si potest fieri.

¶14.[14] Et ut procurantes et consencientes hoc modo peccantibus demonstrentur culpabiles, ponatur exemplum de uetulis. **Opus enim earum magis est noxium quam opus diaboli. Vbi enim nec homo nec diabolus aliquid potest facere**

[7]Cf. Ps. 63.2, 87.3
[8]Cf. Ez. 33.11
[9]Cf. Ps. 117.17
[10]Cf. Pr. 18.17
[11]*Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis*, tract. 12 (*Corpus christianorum* [CC] 36.128; PL 35.1491)
[12]*Non inven.*
[13]Cf. Guillelmus Peraldus, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*, ed. R. Clutius (Lyons 1668), bk. 2 (*Summa vitiorum*) 19b–20a, 20a, and those parts of ¶12 printed in boldface.
[14]Cf. ibid. 2.28b, 29b–30a, 23a, and those parts of ¶14 printed in boldface.

per se, ibi operatur uetula; vnde racione posset dici diabola, eo quod in peccato diabolo assimilatur. A peccato enim diabolus habet quod fit diabolus, quia creacione est angelus. Cum igitur Christus in passione sua laborauerit usque ad sudorem sanguineum et tantum dolorem sustinuerit, quod non fuit dolor sicut dolor eius, et tantum ibi expenderit quod fractum est alabastrum et vnguentum misericordie effusum[15] in tanta habundancia quod eum senserunt celum, terra, et infernus. Vnicam tamen animam, scilicet latronis, in actu lucratus est ibi. Ex hoc igitur patet quantum peccent uetule, eciam si non auferant Deo nisi vnam animam in tota vita sua, cum tale[f] dampnum faciant[g] ei, quale lucrum ipse fecit in cruce. Similiter, si vnus predicator in tota vita sua non lucretur nisi vnam animam, cum vna anima plus valeat quam omnes diuicie huius mundi, multum facit. Igitur si aliqua uetula toto tempore uite sue nullum aliud malum faceret nec corde, nec ore, nec opere, nisi quod vnicam animam Deo auferret, nimis faceret. Ponamus enim quod aliquis numquam malum cogitauerit, uel dixerit, uel fecerit, et omnia egerit bona que excogitari possunt. Semel tamen fornicetur et ita descedat absque penitencia: ex necessitate condempnabitur. Et si omnes misse, que usque ad finem mundi celebrabuntur ab ecclesia, pro eo celebrarentur, non liberarent eum a morte eterna. Detestabilius est enim hoc uicium homicidio uel rapina. Potest enim aliquis uelle occidere aliquem meritorie, sicut iudex secularis timore iusticie, et aliquis potest occidere alium in summa necessitate, set nemo potest fornicari scienter quin peccet mortaliter. Item si nullum tale sacrificium est Deo, secundum Ysidorum,[16] quale est zelus animarum, ergo nullum tale sacrificium est diabolo quam perdicio animarum, sicut inferius[h] dicitur in epistola ad curiam Romanum, scilicet "Dominus noster Ihesus Christus," etc.[17]

¶15. Confiteatur igitur penitens quociens, ubi, cum quantis, et cum quibus peccauerit, et quibus consenserit, et quociens consenserit, (fol. 187) dicens semper ueritatem prout senserit in corde suo, postea[i] dicendo hoc modo: Et pluries, ut cum multis aliis istud peccatum perpetrarem, omnium uirium mearum possibilitatem adhibui, quando hoc facere uel ad hoc attingere nullo modo potui. Et sic sepius inimici latentis suggestionibus ac carnis dissolute uoluptatibus deceptus, que numquam fiebant aut dicebantur, nec fieri poterunt, in corde meo nequissimo ymaginaui. Et quociens istud peccatum uilissimum commiserim[j] penitus ignoro, set a tempore quo hoc modo peccare didici et tale peccatum facere potui usque ad annum etatis mee, etc., et usque ad annum conuersionis mee, etc., scilicet si in religione peccauerit, semper, quando locum et tempus et affectum habui, istud scelus deterimum perpetraui; multociensque, quando

[f]tale] silem (?) *MS*
[g]faciant] -iunt *MS*
[h]inferius] super *MSac*
[i]postea] -teo *MS*
[j]commiserim] -ruñ *MS*

[15]Cf. Marc. 14.3
[16]Cf. Gregory, *Homiliae in Hiezechihalem prophetam* 1.12.30 (CC 142.200; PL 76.932)
[17]See above at n. 11, and at n. 47.

nullo modo potui, perpetrasse uolui cum effectu. Si cum quo peccassem, ad libitum habuissem.

¶16. Ista autem peccata que hic confessus sum, numquam,[k] sicut decet et oportet et peccatori expedit, prius manifestaui. Rubor enim confusionis obstabat et tumultus cogitacionum malignarum cordis mei oculos obcecauerunt, increpantes ut tacerem et uerecundiam meam cooperirem, et ne delicta mea manifestarem nec peccata mea turpissima, quorum pondere premor, in confessione uera et humili Deo et homini confiterer, cum et Christus, cui soli peccaui, Deus et homo sit. Set, licet turpe sit talia dicere, tamen honestius est confusionem vincere et peccatorum multitudinem et turpitudinem hic sub silencio vni homini denudare, quam ut ea Deus in nouissimo die oporteat vniuerso orbi in puplico, sicut comminatur per Naum 4, dicens tali: "Ecce ego ad te et proiciam super te abhominaciones tuas et ostendam regnis ignominiam tuam."[18] Ne igitur ignominia mea et abhominaciones mee super me in illa die coram regnis proiciantur, omnia scelera mea in amaritudine anime mee recogitabo. Nec ea de cetero celare possum, quoniam ubicumque uado consciencia mea id secum portat quod in ea posui.

¶17.[19] Confiteor ergo me grauiter per 5 corporis mei sensus peccasse: visu, oculos sublimes ac superbos ac plenos adulterii habendo, animalium et feminarum concubitus consciencia inmunda intuendo. Triplex autem potest assignari et ostendi racio quare timendi sunt oculi, uel triplici racione potest ostendi quare cohibendi et reseruandi sunt oculi. **Prima est quod oculi sunt ualde ueloces ad nocendum anime ideoque depredatoribus[l] comparantur**, vnde in **Thren. 12:** "**Oculus** meus **depredatus est animam meam,**"[20] etc. **Secundo, timendi sunt oculi quia a remociori nocent. Tercio, timendi sunt oculi quia sunt quasi due porte in castro corporis nostri. Quibus si dominetur diabolus, semper est dominus corporis nostri. Qui** enim **habet portas alicuius castri, habet et castrum.** Sic ergo ostenditur **quod nihil habeat Deus in homine, si oculos hominis** et intencionem **non habeat; sicut non est dominus castri qui ingressum eius non habet et egressum.**

¶18.[21] **Ieronimus: "Crede mihi; non potest cum Domino toto corde ambulare, qui feminarum accessibus copulatur."**[22] **Tria** autem **in hac parte solent quosdam decipere, scilicet sanctitas mulierum, fiducia de propria castitate, et consanguinitas.** Set **"nec Dauid sanccior, nec Sampsone forcior, nec Salomone potest esse sapiencior."**[23] Videlicet Adam, Sampsonem, sic Dauid, sic Salomonem femina decepit. Quis modo tutus erit? "**Mementoque semper quod paradisi colonum**

[k]numquam] vnquam *MS*
[l]depredatoribus] -antoribus *MS*

[18]Cf. Nahum 3.5–6
[19]Cf. Peraldus (n. 13 above) 2.31a, 32b, and those parts of ¶17 printed in boldface.
[20]Thren. 3.51
[21]Cf. Peraldus 2.35b, 35a–b, 36a, 47b, and those parts of ¶18 printed in boldface.
[22]Cf. Ps.-Jerome, ep. 42 (*Ad Oceanum*), 4 (PL 30.298).
[23]Cf. Jerome, ep. 52 (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* [CSEL] 54.423; PL 22.531–532)

de possessione sua eiecit mulier."[24] Ieronimus: "Ferreas mentes libido domat."[25] Ex duobus enim lapidibus, si inuicem collidantur, exit ignis; sic ex familiaritate duarum personarum que quasi lapidee uidentur esse, quandoque exit ignis luxurie. Augustinus: "Melius est in diebus dominicis arare uel fodere quam choreas cum mulieribus ducere."[26] Idem: "Non peccat quis in eo quod uitare non potest. Peccatum autem adeo est uoluntarium, quod si non est uoluntarium, non est peccatum."[27] Seneca: "Omitte excusaciones! Nemo peccat inuitus."[28]

¶19.[29] Remedium autem contra hoc uicium, quod principaliter in confessione iniungendum est, est eius oppositum, scilicet castitas, que haberi potest si, secundum Apostolum,[30] fugiamus fornicacionem, scilicet locum et tempus et personas quibus suggeritur. Similiter vnicuique uicio iniungenda est uirtus opposita. Item, est aliud **remedium contra libidinem**, scilicet **elemosina; vnde Ambrosius: "Si quis misericordiam sequitur**, eciam **si lubricum carnis passus fuerit, uapulabit quidem set non peribit."**[31]

¶20. Sequitur. Peccaui eciam per auditum, detracciones et uaniloquia libenter audiendo; olfactu, nimis suaues odores appetendo; gustu, delicias tam de cibis quam potibus nimis adoptando; tactu, polluta et turpia et inmunda manibus tangendo, vt membrum mulieris uel aliquid quod inhibitum est religiosis, et maxime in sacris ordinibus constitutis.

¶21. Item, per incessum pedum, ad ecclesiam dominicis et festis diebus honorem debitum diei et sancto inpendendi gratia non eundo, nec secundum euangelicum preceptum[32] infirmos uisitando, set ad inania et praua leuiter et dissolute, extentoque collo, et tibiis extentis, currendo.

¶22. Item sepe contingit inter adolescentes ut, fide interposita, fratres se iurent. Ideo dicat confitens: Peccaui eciam in hoc, quod cum tot iuuenibus mihi coeuis et quondam in seculo karissimis, fide interposita et fidei dacione corporali, (fol. 187v) pepigi ut ex tunc illos in fratres meos iuratos haberem. Set in hoc me deliquisse confiteor, quod ea affeccione qua huiusmodi iuratos diligere condecet non amaui.

¶23. Et per ista aliaque innumerabilia peccata, que contra uoluntatem Domini mei Ihesu Christi et contra salutem meam commisi, ab eodem Domino meo alienatus, eiusdem corpus et sanguinem super omnia sanctificata pluries indigne assumere presumpsi.

¶24. Item peccaui in dandis accipiendisque muneribus, in despeccione pauperum, in cogitacionibus pessimis, in suspicionibus falsis, in delectacionibus inmundis et luxuriosis, in iudiciis temerariis, in testimonium falsum perhibendo,

[24]Ibid.

[25]Jerome, ep. 117 (CSEL 55.429; PL 22.957)

[26]Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 32.2, serm. 1, 6 (CC 38.251–252; PL 36.281)

[27]Cf. Augustine, *De vera religione* 14.27 (CC 32.204; PL 34.133)

[28]H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi* 3 (Göttingen 1965) 578 no. 19794a.

[29]Cf. Peraldus (n. 13 above) 2.43b, and those parts of ¶19 printed in boldface.

[30]Cf. 1 Cor. 6.18

[31]Cf. Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas, ad Timotheum prima*, 4.7–8 (CSEL 81.3.275; PL 17.474)

[32]Cf. Mat. 25.36

in consensu malo et consilio iniquo, in concupiscenciis carnalibus, in osculis, in amplexibus, in uerbis superfluis, ociosis, et contumeliosis, in derisionibus, in ociositate, in contencione et emulacione, in dolositate, in sompnolenciis Deo contrariis, in conuiciis, in turpiloquiis, sanctitatem quoque quam non habui simulando, in inani et inepta leticia, atque in transgressione 10 mandatorum Dei, nomen illius in vanum sumendo, sabbata non sanctificando, nec patrem et matrem sicut decet honorando, mortem proximi in animo adoptando, res alienas furando decimasque frugum ad Deum deputatas furtim capiendo, aliosque idem peccatum committere faciendo, folia a libris ecclesiasticis et cedulas, ceramque a candelis occulte capiendo, aliasque res, magnas uel paruas, sociorum meorum in scolis in iuuentute, et in ecclesiis, quorum omnium ad presens non memini, furtiue abscondendo, ut est illud et illud (hic, sicut et semper, interea dicenda sunt specialia conscienciam confitentis tangentia, secundum quod occurrerint memorie), item rem proximi, uxorem et ancillam eius, sepissime concupiscendo. Atque de istorum preceptorum transgressionibus, tanquam de peccatis mortalibus, me reum confiteor et manifesto.

¶25. Confessio autem facienda est gallice uel ydiomate magis noto. Et est ita incipienda—hec enim sunt prima uerba: Io me faz confes a Deu, e a nostre dame seinte Marie, e a tuz seins, e a vus, pere, ke io par ma mauveite ai mut pecchee, e offendu mon creatour, e trespasse ses comaundemenz. Io ai mut pecche en penser, en parole, e en fet. Hic distinguendum est quomodo, et in quibus, et quociens, si potest fieri. Et in fine dicendum est ita—hec sunt enim ultima uerba confessionis—set semper ydiomate et lingua magis nota: Set quoniam de hiis et omnibus aliis uiciis, quibuscumque, humana fragilitas contra Deum et creatorem suum aut cogitando, aut loquendo, aut operando, aut delectando, aut concupiscendo peccare potest, me peccatorem super omnes homines esse recognosco. Ideo de hiis et omnibus peccatis meis, quecumque a natiuitate mea contra uoluntatem Dei feci, uel contra uotum talis professionis, scilicet religionis uel coniugii, uel alii per me uel propter me scienter uel nescienter, quorum memini et quorum non memini, omnem emendacionem promittens, ueniam postulo, et precor gloriosissimam Dei genitricem et uirginem Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei, in quorum conspectu omnia peccata mea confessus sum, et te, pater, ut tu mihi testis sis ante Deum, orare pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum omnipotentem, ut gracia illius mihi succurente merear euadere iudicium ulcionis, et ut "sit de me gaudium in celo angelis eius," sicut promisit idem Dominus, "super vno peccatore penitenciam agente."[33] Quod mihi prestare dignetur, etc.

¶26. Postea oret sacerdos pro confesso, ita dicendo: Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua. Liberet te Deus ab omni malo, confirmet et conseruet in omni opere bono, et perducat ad uitam eternam. Amen.

¶27. Deinde absoluat eum, ita dicendo: Indulgenciam et remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum per graciam Sancti Spiritus tribuat tibi omnipotens et misericors Dominus. Amen.

¶28. Deinde iniungat ei penitenciam: scilicet si secularis est, iniungat ei contra vnumquodque peccatum oppositam uirtutem, cum pena pro commisso, que

[33]Cf. Luc. 15.10

in penitenciario inuenitur, et secundum quantitatem doloris uel contricionis eandem penam mitigando uel minuendo, et secundum paruitatem contricionis eandem penam augendo uel aggrauando. Si autem confitens fuerit de religione, non poterit prelatus pro occultis criminibus licet magnis iniungere ei penitenciam sicut seculari, set ita dicat anglica uel gallica lingua: Ore ben, frere, le ordre, e la perseuerance, e le amendement de uostre uie, e, kan ke vus purrez, fere de ben en le mesun Deu, deka uostre fin e le amendement ke vus a Deu premettez. Totes ces[m] choses vus serent en principale penance e en remission de ces pechez ke ci auez comi, e de tuz les autres trespas ke vus auez fet e uodriez comistre sil vus uenisent a memorie. E dites auant *etc.* ke Deu par sa merci vus doint *ueniam de preteritis, et cautelam de futuris*, e a uostre fin *uitam eternam*, ou kil par la priere de sa duce mere e de tuz seins et totes seintes vus doint tele uie demener en co secle e si espurger uostre uie par seinte con<fessio>un ke vus pussez apres le curs de ceste uie *consequi uitam eternam*, ou ke Deu vus doint ben uiure, e ben morer, e a la grant ioie paruenir. Amen.

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